The Progressive Review

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April 1990

The Grinch That Stole Peace

Let's get one thing straight. Peace is not a dividend, nor does it produce one. If we have to use corporate terminology, we might describe peace as a new capital asset, but never a dividend, as though it were some little souvenir the managers of the Cold War were giving us for our patience over the past four decades.

For those who would like to keep the military-industrial complex chugging along, the concept of a dividend is admittedly a useful one. It's the standard way to keep stockholders off one's back, doesn't cost but a few percentage points, and lets business continue pretty much as usual.

So far, the media and many politicians seem to be buying the idea. They like the sound of George Bush's perverse pronouncement that "peace is the dividend," they are enthralled by complex calculations that explain why we can't really cut the defense budget much after all, and overnight there has arisen a tremendous threat of Third World nuclear attacks, "narco-terrorism," and endless potential Panamas and Granadas.

The same gang that scared Congress into Star Wars, America's extraterrestrial Fantasy Island, and into weapons systems like the Stealth bomber that no one knows will work and which will take a couple of years' average-sized government agency budgets to find out whether it does, is busy convincing the Hill and the nation that we can't really afford peace.

It is a remarkably cynical enterprise, and it appears to be working. Organizations dedicated to peace find their funding dropping off dramatically; some are even closing down. Despite the largest military budget ever, the opposition is fading.

To put it plainly, the grinch, in the form of the military-industrial complex, is about to steal peace. We are moving effortlessly from a Cold War to a Cryogenic Peace.

It's not some secret plot. It's right out in the open. The Bush budget for the Stealth bomber is up 29%, and for Star Wars up 23% -- and that's $10 billion gone right there. The Bushies are, to be sure, planning to spend $1.6 billion on shelters -- but not for the homeless, of course, but to protect the misbegotten Stealth itself. These shelters, costing about $13 million apiece, are necessary -- and must be air-conditioned -- because the Stealth doesn't like sunlight or windblown objects and needs to be in a hanger between test flights and Third World interventions. (The Pentagon, incidentally, is working on a version of the plane to be flown from aircraft carriers; god knows what salt does to these sensitive little creatures). Then there is the Bush transportation program: $1.4 billion for all domestic projects but nearly twice that much for seven trains to carry the MX Missile around so that Libya (or whoever is our Enemy of the Month) won't be able to find them.

To make matters worse, a new complex has been quietly rising to challenge the Pentagonistas for post-Cold War funds: the medical-insurance complex. Between now and 1993, according to the Bush budget, we will spend nearly three times as much new money on health and medicare as we will on new defense. And like the defense budget we won't be getting fair value.

Before we consider how things might be different, let's take a look at the way they are going

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to be if the underlying premises of the Bush budget are sustained.

To avoid the frequent -- and often intended -- confusion over whether figures reflect the effect of inflation (which allows Defense secretaries to say spending is going down when it's really going up), it is useful to examine new spending between 1990 and 1993. This puts every category on the same footing and gives a pretty good suggestion of priorities. Here is what is going to happen if George Bush has his way:

- We will be spending $35.5 billion in *new* dollars for defense above the 1990 level during this period. That's nearly three times more in new spending than for foreign aid, twelve times more than for the environment, and nearly two and a half times more than we will be spending for education.
- The new spending for the military and space combined will be more than the new spending for welfare and roughly two-thirds the new spending for health and medicare. It will be more than all new spending combined for foreign aid, the environment, transportation, education, veterans affairs and law enforcement.

There is good reason for lumping the defense and space budget. Early in the talk about a 'peace dividend' it occurred to me that if there were such a thing it was probably going to Mars, for reasons since outlined with unusual frankness by Vice President Quayle:

"As the defense budget has begun to shrink, look at the increase we put forward in the space budget, which went up by 24 percent in the president's budget. That's going to put a lot of jobs into the economy. Many of the industries involved in defense are also involved in the space industry."

America's space program has been increasingly militarized, and the corporate players are so similar that it would not be surprising in the near future to find Danny arguing that we must continue Star Wars because of its spin-off benefits to the space program.

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW
Bucking the System Since 1966

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- The defense budget will go down as a percentage of total spending but not by much. In 1990 we will spend an estimated 24% of all outlays on defense, if you include Social Security. In 1993 the figure will be 23%. The combined military-space budget will hardly decrease at all as a share of total spending. Further, as the Council on Budget and Policy Priorities points out, four-fifths of all program spending reductions this year will come from the domestic side of the government.
- Meanwhile, as noted above, spending for health and medicare will rise dramatically, but even in the third post-Cold War budget year will still take only 14% of total outlays (up from 12% in 1990). Further, three years after the Cold War road show supposedly has folded, we will spending less than two-thirds as much on the health of the nation as we are on its defense. In addition, Barney Frank points out that under the president's budget we will be still spending more to prevent Poland and Hungary from invading France than we will be to help these two newly liberated countries get on their feet.

Some of these figures are shown graphically in the charts on page 3. The second chart in particular illustrates the difference between a wartime and a peacetime budget in the eyes of this administration: not much.

The top chart on page 4 shows what it could mean. Using 1993 figures, the top bars show the size of various defense cuts compared to the planned spending in several areas. For example, a 5% cut in the military's 1993 spending could almost double our budget for the environment, a 10% cut could triple the housing budget; a 25% cut could permit us to more than double our spending for both education and the environment. And a 50% cut could practically pay all our welfare costs.

These are just examples to give a sense of scale. But they strongly suggest the opportunity with which we are presented of doing things quite differently.

We won't get there, however, without a clear understanding of where we want to go. There are innumerable difficulties in getting there to be sure, but it is essential before we begin that we have a destination. As Chesterton pointed out, an abstract ideal is a prerequisite to practical action. At the

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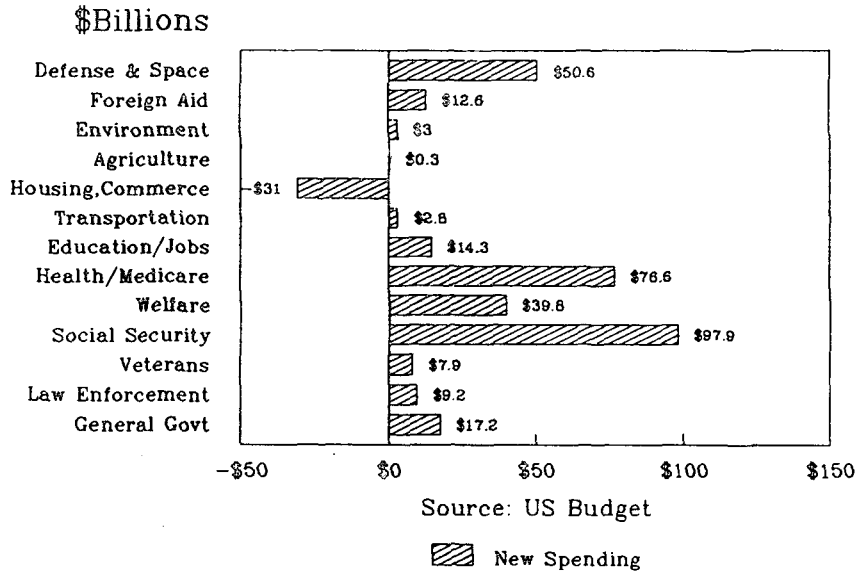
The Bush Plan for New Spending

New Spending 1991–1993
Under President's Budget



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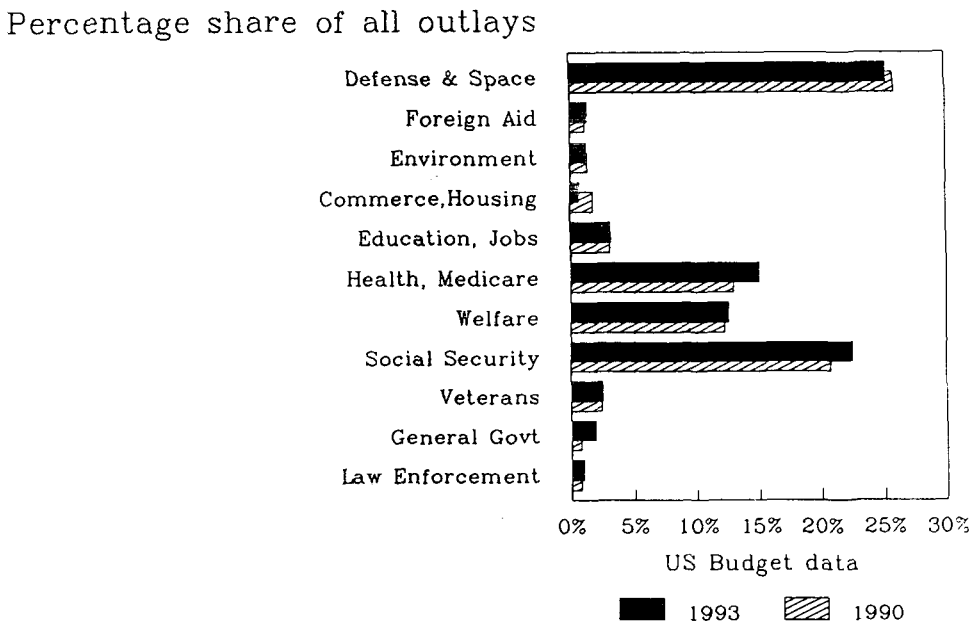
Who Gets What: 1990–1993
Change in Share of Budget



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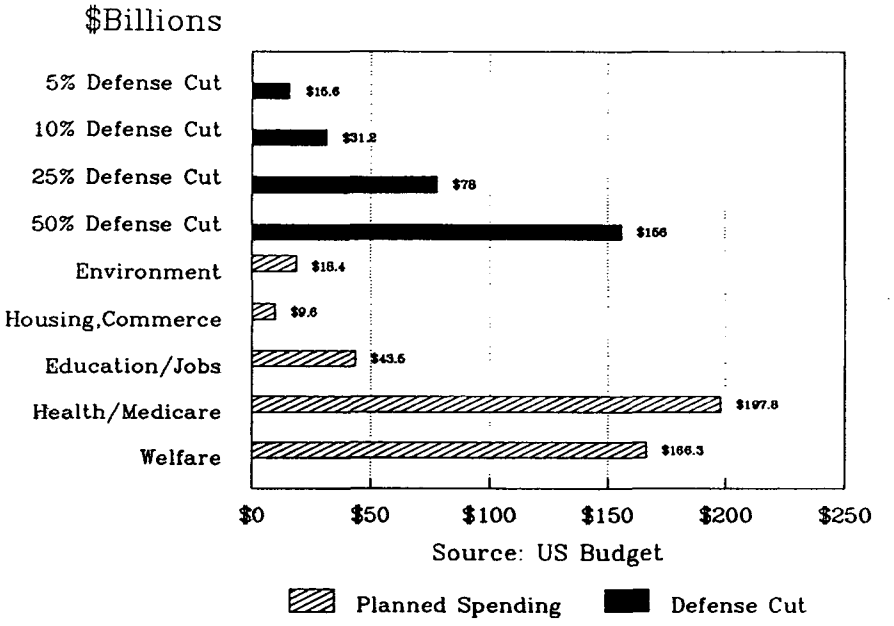
Various Defense Cuts
Compared with '93 Budget for Other Items



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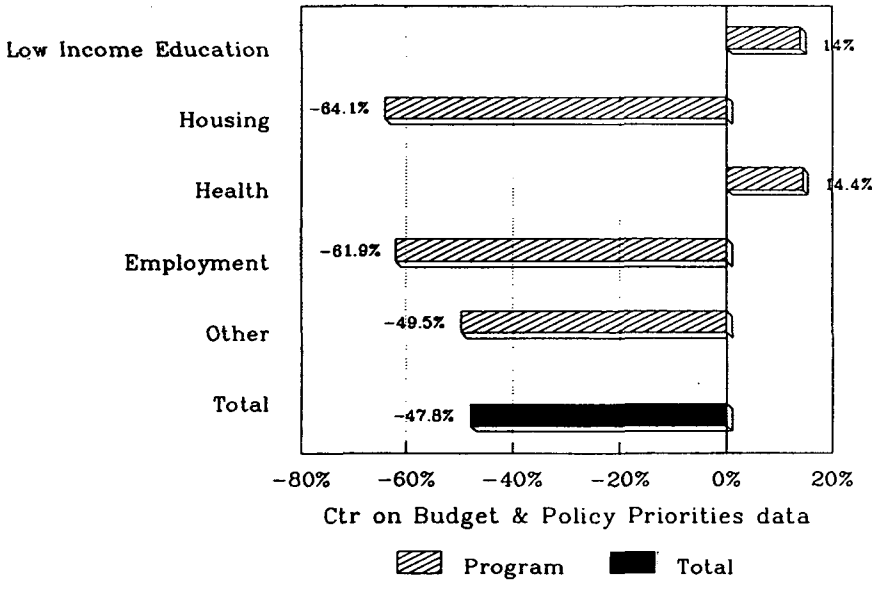
The Reagan–Bush War Against the Poor
Change in Low Income Programs
1981–1991 (After Inflation)



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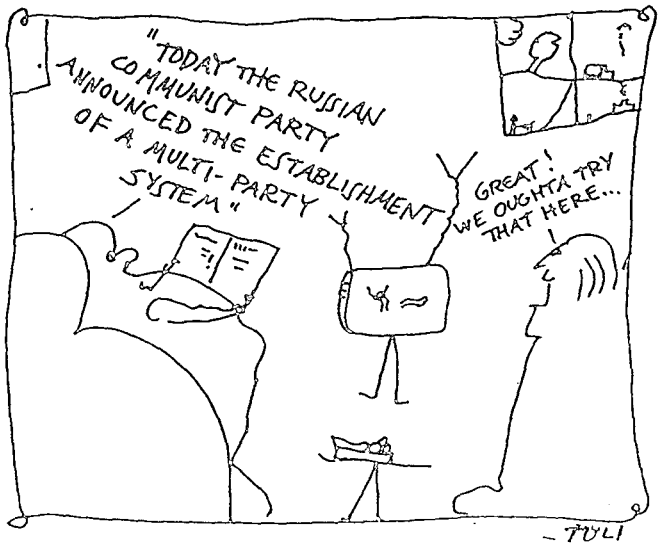
"TODAY THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ANNOUNCED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM."
GREAT! WE OUGHTA TRY THAT HERE...
TOLI

moment, in Washington, it does not exist. Washington bureaucrats, politicians and journalists are incrementalists to the core, spending much their time inflating the value of minor adjustments to policy and purse, until they finally convince themselves they have reached the outer limits of social and political change. Smug in their self-induced catatonic state, they view the ambulatory with suspicion, the optimistic with disdain and any disruption of the status quo as a harbinger of revolution.

Even our friends on the Hill say they are limited to marginal change because of the political intricacies of federal budgeting. Furthermore, many seem to accept the notion that the federal debt, which happily blossomed during the Reagan military buildup, should be the first target for any funds freed by our new situation. There is much to be said for reducing the annual deficit and for ending the debt explosion, but it should be kept in mind that not a single economist or politician has come up with a convincing case for any particular sized deficit or debt-load. You never really find out how much is too much until you reach that point. Thus arguments along these lines are all theoretical.

Certainly the size of the government's interest payments is a problem; these payments accounted for 14% of all 1989 outlays. On the other hand, Bush's budget projects that they will be down in absolute dollars and as a percentage of outlays by 1993, to about 11% of all spending. Is that enough? Only a politician up for re-election knows for sure.

It is probable that the trend is just as important as the total in these matters, in which case much of the crying over the deficit is excessive. Besides, it is a bit disingenuous to argue that deficit spending suddenly becomes evil when it is for peaceful purposes. In fact, a far stronger argument can be made for deficit spending when the results are economy-boosting houses, bridges and employment programs than inert weapons systems waiting unproductively for Armageddon.

Yet even liberal legislators are suggesting that domestic programs, long drained by the military, should now wait until we reach certain mystical and ill-defined deficit goals. Since we have had only one balanced budget since John F. Kennedy's administration, it may be a long wait.

Thus it becomes necessary for the uninformed, the uninvited, and the unelected to tend to the future until those in power can catch up with them. It is no more likely that a true peace budget will have its genesis in Washington than that the civil rights, environmental or anti-nuclear movements could have originated there. Washington will simply tinker with the figures until it becomes clear that America wants something else. In the meantime, we will continue to have, as Bush has given us, a wartime budget, and we will remain second only to the Prussian Empire in our willingness to squander our resources for the delusions that military power offers.

A true peace budget could reflect the real priorities of our people, priorities such as health, housing, education, jobs and the environment, currently, in combination, consuming only a pitiful 19% of our federal spending. It could be a charter for a new and better America, but first we have to ask for it, understanding, as Columbia professor Seymour Melman put it, that the size of the defense budget is "entirely a political matter dependent on human preference."

And if we ask long and loudly enough, in a strange and mysterious way the Capital tinkerers, now so certain it can't be done, will run their figures through again and discover that maybe it's possible after all. -- *Sam Smith*

Progressives in Congress

Based on the the 1989 ADA voting record here is a list of the leading progressives in Congress:

SENATE

100%: Leahy, Simon
95%: Wirth, Harkin, Kerry, Metzenbaum, Adams, Kohl
90%: Bumpers, Biden, Mikulski
85%: Sarbanes, Kennedy, Riegle, Bradley, Burdick, Pell, Sasser

HOUSE

100%: Boxer, D Edwards, Gejdenson, C Hayes, L Evans, Atkins, Wolpe, M. Owen, Kastenmeier, G Miller, Waxman, B. Morrison, Savage, Visclosky, Vento, Markey, W. Coyne, Dellums, Schroeder, J. Lewis, Yates, Jontz, Studds, Sikorski, Unsoeld

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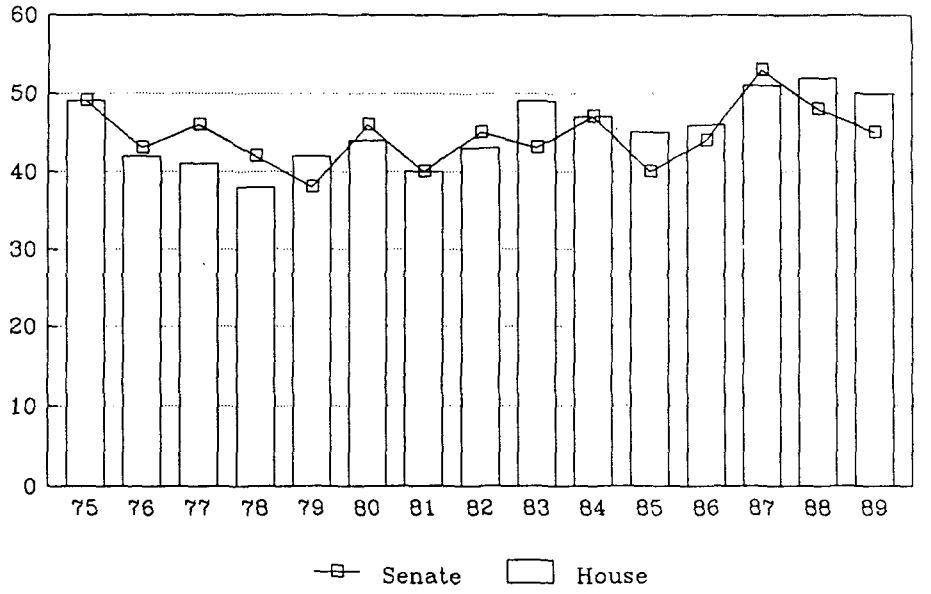
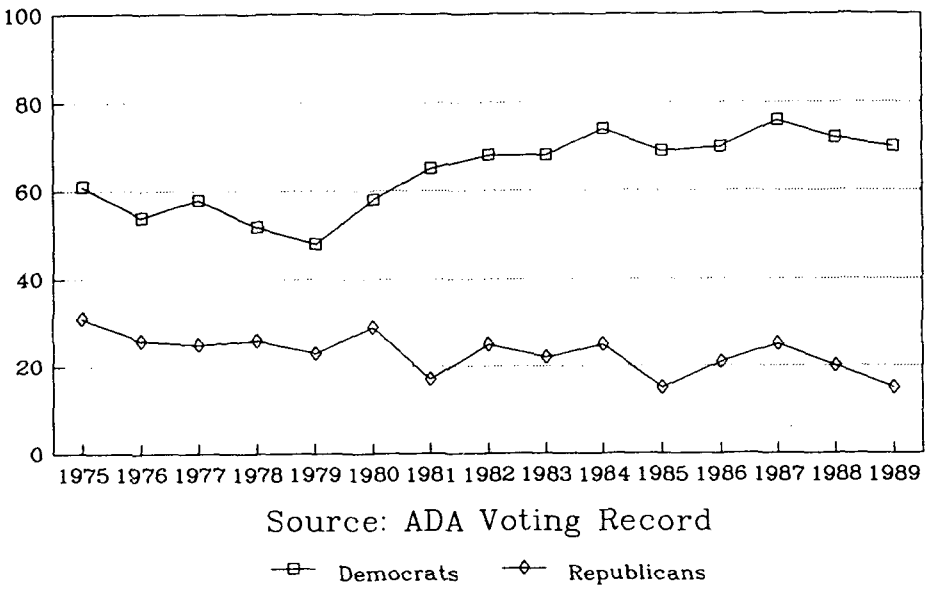
ADA Voting Ratings
Progressive Ratings 1975-89



Source: ADA Voting Record

The Senate
Progressive Ratings 1975-89



Progressive Review Chart

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Drug Busts

Drug surveys

As the annual surveys come out reporting a decline in drug use, the drug ayatollahs cite them as proof that we are winning the drug wars. What they don't say -- and the media fails to point out -- is that this decline began in the late seventies/early eighties, considerably before the current drug hysteria was created. As drug use tends to go in cycles, it is likely that the continued decline would have occurred even if William Bennett had never been invented.

Bennett and his fellow bullies are in a bit of jam because they need both success and failure to keep their authoritarian game plan going. Success to prove they are making headway, but not so much so that people go soft on drugs. Therefore they are not above other manipulation of the figures to prove that the ersatz panic they have created is justified.

A nice example of this statistical sleaze was offered by Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins of the Earl Warren Legal Institute in the Jan. 25 *New York Times*. Zimring and Hawkins pointed out that Bennett had claimed last fall that "estimated 'frequent' use of cocaine in any form" has doubled since 1985. If true, it's the sort of number Bennett needs because it justifies extreme measures despite the drop-off in casual use.

The trouble is that it just isn't true. Bennett based his figures on "the number of survey respondents who report ingesting that drug one or more times each week and *calculated as a percentage of the total cocaine-using population.*" [Emphasis added.]

To understand the deception here, imagine that there were ten million cocaine users, 100,000 of whom were frequent users. Some time later, the total dropped to five million, but the number of frequent users stayed the same. Under Bennett's bizarre math, the number of hard-core users would have doubled, because these same hard-core users now represented a larger percentage of all users.

The duty to be healthy

Bennett, like many politicians, thinks numbers are just another form of adjective. As erstwhile chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, he can perhaps be forgiven for this deficiency in his education, but we can't be quite so charitable about his indefatigable opposition to individual liberty, a not insignificant concern of the humanities.

John Schaler, a Maryland psychotherapist, made the point nicely in a recent article in the *Montgomery Journal*. Shaler recalled a Washington talk show in which a pot-smoking but otherwise upstanding listener challenged Bennett sidekick Reggie Walton as to "why I should be fined or incarcerated because the drug that I choose to use is not the drug that [Walton] had described as socially acceptable."

Walton's response was telling:

*We don't believe that we should support people using marijuana, which is not something that's constructive. there's nothing that makes your life better because you *** smoke a marijuana joint and get high. *** That doesn't improve the quality of your life. and we don't believe that we should, as a government, be supporting the fact that somebody wants to get a high because they want to use marijuana. We don't believe it's appropriate."*

Walton, who was once a judge, seemed to offering some new constitutional principles to which we must adhere as a condition of our liberty, among them appropriateness, constructiveness and a proper quality of life, all of which, apparently, are to be determined by the particular government in power by the likes of Bennett and Walton -- not to mention a president who has said the solution to the drug problem lies in "instilling proper values," again a novel interpretation of governmental responsibility.

As Shaler noted, the question is: whose values? He wrote: "We are moving on the morality scale to include how the person relates to the self.

Establishment Defectors

Here are some of members of the American political, social and journalistic establishment who have raised serious questions about the Bush-Bennett War on Drugs, or have supported legalization or decriminalization:

Bill Mathesius, Republican County Executive of Mercer County (Trenton) NJ.
Mark Weinberg, Director of Public Prosecutions for Australia
Ralph Salerno, former chief detective for NYC's Organized Crime Bureau
Hodding Carter, journalist
Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark
Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich)
Mayor Carrie Saxon Perry, Hartford, CT
US Chief Judge James Churchill, Michigan Eastern District
William F. Buckley, journalist
Milton Friedman, economist
Kurt Schmoke, mayor of Baltimore
George Schultz, former Secretary of State
Lewis Lapham, editor of *Harpers*
Tom Wicker, *New York Times*
Patrick Murphy, former NYC police commissioner
Eathan Nadelmann, Princeton University
Dr. Lester Grinspoon, Harvard Medical School
US District Judge Robert Sweet, New York City

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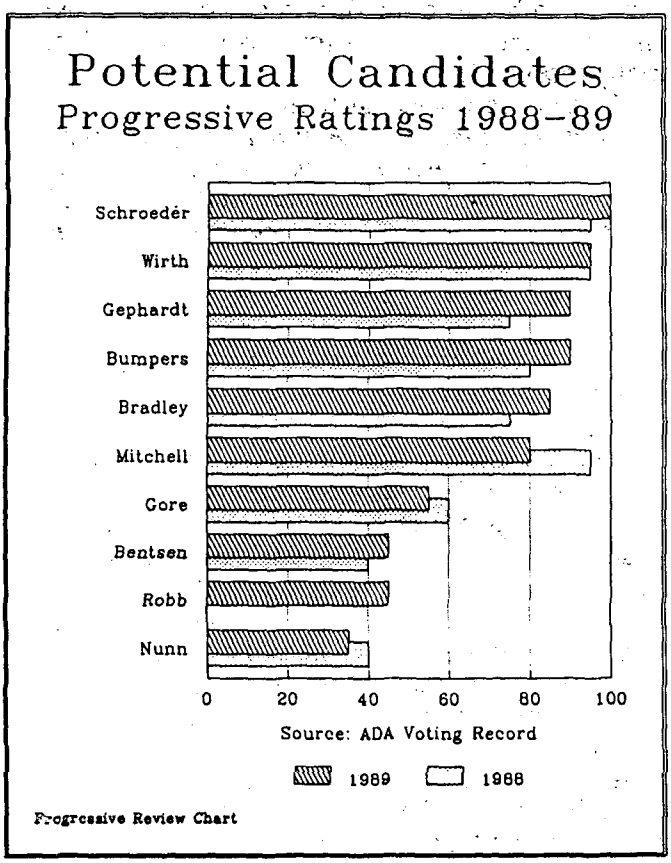

The enemy has become the self. The war on drugs is a war on people who have different values than the majority." People who use drugs "are not lacking in values. They have different values."

Shaler sees in the drug wars echos of another government obsessed with ridding society of "diseases" of the mind and the will, represented in its mind by Jewishness, alcoholism, homosexuality, 'flabby intellectualism,' and 'disastrous concepts of liberty and equality.' It was this government, according to Robert Jay Lifton in *The Nazi Doctors,* that encouraged its physicians to teach people to "overcome the old individualistic principle of 'the right to one's own body' and to embrace instead the 'duty to be healthy.' On this point one wonders whether Bennett and Walton would go with Adolph Hitler or with John Stuart Mill, who said" Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."

Counter-offensive

The disease argument can cut several ways as the Legal Aid Society of Minneapolis is attempting to show with a law suit demanding disability benefits for a class of some 4500 alcoholic and drug disabled persons in Minnesota. The suit charges that the federal government is ignoring the law by denying benefits to people, many of them homeless, who are unable to work because of severe alcoholism or drug dependency. The suit follows in the wake of decisions in Washington state and Pennsylvania ordering local reviewing agencies to provide benefits to persons disabled by alcohol.

> The random indiscriminate stopping and questioning of individuals on interstate buses seems to have gone too far. In this 'anything goes' war on drugs, random knocks on the doors of our citizens' homes seeking 'consent' to search for illegal drugs cannot be far away. This is not America. *** We cannot become so obsessed with this drug scourge to permit it to dismember the Constitution. It seems rather incongruous at this point in the world's history that we find totalitarian states becoming more like our free society while we in this nation are taking on their former trappings of suppressed liberties and freedoms." -*US District Judge Stanley Sporkin upon dismissing a case against a bus rider accused of drug possession.*

Legalization support growing

Faced with a choice between the Bush-Bennett war on drugs and legalization of drugs, some 36% of Americans say they would choose the latter according to a poll taken for the Drug Policy Foundation by Reese Communications. Fifty-six percent would go for the war on drugs. This is the highest level of support for drug legalization to date. The poll also found that fewer than 1 in 100 Americans who have never used cocaine said they would start using the drug if it were legal. About 4 percent would be tempted to try marijuana. Seventy-six percent said doctors should be able to prescribe heroin to terminally ill patients. And 68% said they preferred providing treatment and counseling to drug users to punishing them, in contrast to William Bennett who told the Senate Judiciary Committee on February 1 that children are more likely to respond to punishment than to drug education programs. Bennett said he will "take tough policy every time because I know children."

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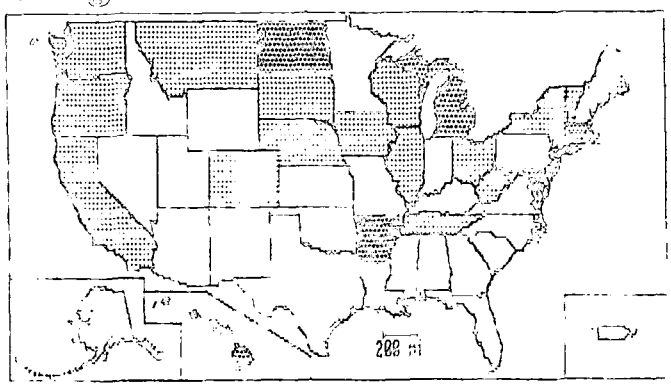
Progressive America



Dark shaded states are those with two liberal senators. Light shaded states are those with one. Based on 1989 ADA voting record

The Weather Report

The CIA and the S&Ls

An eight-month investigation by the *Houston Post* has uncovered considerable evidence of links between 22 failed S&Ls, organized crime and the CIA. The *Post* reported that the links included ties to "gun-running, drug smuggling, money laundering and covert aid to the Nicaraguan Contras." The evidence, says the paper, suggests that "the CIA may have used part of the proceeds from S&L frauds to help pay for covert operations and other activities that Congress was unwilling to support publicly." A former prosecutor with the Justice Department's organized crime unit says that the agencies involved in investigating S&L fraud are being precluded from looking deeper into the matter on the grounds of national security. This major story, which has been largely ignored by other media, was in the February 4 edition of the *Houston Post.*

Figuring out Social Security

One way to find out if you like Pat Moynihan's Social Security proposal is like this: if you're over 45 you like it. In fact, if you are 45 and earning in the top social security bracket it could save you over $12,000 in the next twenty years, not counting inflation.

Which doesn't necessarily make it a good idea. Moynihan has, in his most aggravating fashion, raised a lot of questions that folks around Washington would just as soon forget about, such as the fact the social security trust fund is invested in special Treasury securities that the government uses to fund its deficits. In fact, when you think about it some of your social security nestegg is right now on its way to bail out an S&L.

On the other hand, you don't want your government investing in junk bonds and besides, every investment guide tells you that Treasuries are about the safest place to put your money.

The problem, as Moynihan sees it, is that the coincidence of a huge deficit and a ballooning social security surplus becomes too much a temptation for government budget finaglers. The surplus in the social fund has the effect of reducing the apparent deficit in the federal budget, a reduction achieved by borrowing from social security. Looked at this way, it has the earmarks of the world's largest Ponzi scheme.

In fact, when the social security law was rewritten back in 1983, it was not intended that the now-projected surplus would build up. The legislation was simply intended to prevent a deficit in the fund, and the rate prescribed was simply an average that would work out over 75 years. The case can be made that Moynihan is simply adjusting the rate to reach the 1983 law's original goal.

Although adopting the Moynihan plan will ultimately mean higher rates in the 2020s, it is not a

FIELD NOTES

Panama Commission: Ramsey Clark and Paul O'Dwyer are among those who have formed the Independent Commission of Inquiry on the US Invasion of Panama. The commission is gathering statements of victims of the invasion and has already suggested that the actual civilian death toll was as high as 4000 to 7000 persons, based on interviews with hospital personnel, cemetery and morgue workers. *Info: 36 E. 12th St. 6th Floor, NYC NY 10003. 212-475-3232.*

Oregon Marijuana Initiative: Petitions are being circulated for an initiative that would create Cannibis Personal Use Certificates. These certificates would allow limited amounts of marijuana to be grown and possessed for personal use. The $50 certificates would fund health and treatment programs in the state. *Info: OMI PO Box 8698, Portland OR 97207.*

Earth Day 1990: Earth Day will be 20 years old on April 22. Earth Day is thought of as the kickoff of the modern environmental movement. Many events are being planned around the world for the anniversary, including the planting of over a billion trees. It is suggested that you wear green on April 22 to express your support. *Info: James Day at 547-1990.*

Quayle Quarterly: Covers George Bush's biggest excuse for not being impeached. The first issue looks into some of Danny Boy's curious religious ties. *Quayle Quarterly, $12, PO Box 8593, Brewster Station, Bridgeport, CT 06605.*

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> We sent our marines to Nicaragua 21 years ago. We have been there practically ever since. We've set up governments and taken down governments. I'm in favor of the Nicaraguans having the kind of government that they want, changing it as often as they want and in the manner that they want. -- *Senator William Bloch, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, quoted in the New York Times, April 18 1931.*

vicious scam against the baby boomers. According to *Money* Magazine, former social security administration director of policy analysis Paul Van de Water estimates that the rate will never have to be more than 1.5 percentage points higher than it is today. In the meantime, we may have a little more realistic view of what the deficit actually is.

Furthermore. . .

Although the shorter work-week hasn't become a major issue in the US yet, British engineering workers have gone on strike for longer weekends without cuts in pay. Rolls Royce and British Aerospace are among the firms being hit by the move. According to the head of the 2-million-strong Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, "If you give people the opportunity, they would opt for a longer weekend or an extra holiday rather than a pay raise. The hours of relaxation have become more and more important."

The average Californian buying a house can now expect to pay about half of their income on their mortgage -- before insurance and taxes.

William Safire has come up with a speech by a turn-of-the-century engineer who suggested that Venice go electric, thereby filling the city with "a thousand points of light." Take that, Peggy Noonan.

The commanding officer at Griffis Air Force Base in Rome, NY, didn't like all those peaceniks showing up for the base's open house so he began cracking down on T-shirts with peace messages. While T-shirts with Rambo, B-52s and F-16s were allowed, a retired librarian wearing a shirt that read *Peace is Our Profession* was arrested. The signs at the gate of the base, incidentally, read: *Peace is Our Profession.*

At long last, the Greens of California are actually going out and forming a political party. To get on the ballot in 1992, the Greens will need 80,000 Green Party members.

Although blacks in Washington often blamed race as a factor motivating the US Attorney's million-plus dollar inquiry into Marion Barry, a look at what the Justice Department has been up to around the country suggests that Democrats may be the real target. In the past five years, nearly 5100 federal, state and local officials have been convicted on corruption charges brought by the Justice Department. Most of these are state and local officials, who tend to be Democrats.

The White House has nominated John R. Dunne to be assistant attorney general for civil rights enforcement. The two most striking facts about this Long Island lawyer: (a) despite 24 years as a state senator has practically no record on civil rights and (b) he and his law partners got a $2.5 million industrial development bond to pay for moving and redecorating their law offices.

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